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PTQ4400

RELEASED IN PART
B6, B1, 1.4(D)

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ACTION ARA-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-08	ACDE-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	DS-00
	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00	P-00
	SP-00	TRSE-00	T-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	G-00
	FDIC-01	SAS-00	/017W				

-----851801 232213Z /38

R 232159Z NOV 98
FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2330
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USCINCSO MIAMI FL
CIA WASHDC
USIA WASHDC 1959
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 06 CARACAS 003500

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/19/98

TAGS: PGOV, VE

SUBJECT: THE NOVEMBER 8 REGIONAL ELECTIONS: FINAL COUNT AND
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PAGE 02 CARACA 03500 01 OF 06 232200Z
ANALYSIS

REF: CARACAS 3392

CLASSIFIED BY REASON: 1.5
(D).

B6

SUMMARY

1. (C) REFTTEL PROVIDED AN ANALYSIS OF NOVEMBER REGIONAL ELECTION RESULTS BASED ON PRELIMINARY RESULTS. WITH NEARLY ALL THE VOTES COUNTED, WE CAN NOW CONFIRM MUCH OF THAT ANALYSIS, ESPECIALLY THE DIVISION OF POWER AT THE STATE LEVEL AND WITHIN THE NATIONAL

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE CONFIDENTIAL

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REVIEW AUTHORITY: OSCAR J OLSON

CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(D) UNCLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFY AFTER: 23 NOV 2013

DATE/CASE ID: 21 JUL 2009 200503654

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CONGRESS. THE DEMOCRATIC ACTION PARTY (AD) WAS ABLE TO HANG ON AS VENEZUELA'S PRINCIPAL PARTY, WINNING EIGHT GOVERNORSHIPS AND A PLURALITY IN THE SENATE AND THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES. HUGO CHAVEZ'S FIFTH REPUBLIC MOVEMENT (MVR) IS THE SECOND LARGEST PARTY, AND HIS "POLO PATRIOTICO" ALLIANCE TIED AD IN THE SENATE AND SURPASSED AD IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

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THE RESULTS

2. (U) THE NOVEMBER 8 REGIONAL ELECTIONS LEFT A DIVIDED POLITICAL LANDSCAPE WHICH GAVE NO SINGLE PARTY OR ALLIANCE A DOMINANT POSITION. THE APPENDIX ATTACHED TO THIS MESSAGE GIVES A BREAKDOWN OF THE VOTE, AND INDICATES WHICH PARTIES WON GOVERNORSHIPS, SENATE POSITIONS, AND SEATS IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES. MAIN FEATURES OF THE RESULTS ARE:

-- THE DEMOCRATIC ACTION PARTY (AD) WON EIGHT GOVERNORSHIPS, FOLLOWED CLOSELY BY CHAVEZ'S POLO PATRIOTICO ALLIANCE'S SEVEN STATE HOUSES (FOUR FOR THE FIFTH REPUBLIC MOVEMENT AND 3 FOR THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS SOCIALISM PARTY) AND THE SOCIAL CHRISTIAN PARTY (COPEI) WON FIVE GOVERNORSHIPS. THE REMAINING THREE WERE SPLIT BETWEEN CONVERGENCIA, PROYECTO VENEZUELA, AND FRANCISCO ARIAS CARDENAS, WHO WON AS A COALITION CANDIDATE WHOSE BIGGEST VOTE GETTERS WERE COPEI, THE RADICAL CAUSE PARTY (LCR) AND THE FIFTH REPUBLIC MOVEMENT (MVR).

-- AD REMAINED THE LARGEST PARTY IN THE NATIONAL CONGRESS, HOLDING 19 SEATS IN THE SENATE AND 62 SEATS IN THE CHAMBER. MVR IS THE SECOND LARGEST LEGISLATIVE PARTY, WITH 12 SEATS IN THE SENATE AND 46 IN THE CHAMBER.

-- POLO PATRIOTICO IS THE LARGEST ELECTORAL ALLIANCE, SO FAR, WITH

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19 SEATS IN THE SENATE--TYING AD--AND 70 SEATS IN THE CHAMBER. IT
REMAINS TO BE SEEN IF THE POLO PATRIOTICO CAN TRANSFORM ITS
ELECTORAL ALLIANCE INTO A LEGISLATIVE ALLIANCE. SHOULD AD CREATE
A COUNTER-ALLIANCE WITH COPEI, IT WOULD HAVE 26 SEATS IN THE SENATE
AND 89 SEATS IN THE CHAMBER.

-- THE LACK OF A SINGLE DOMINANT PARTY OR ALLIANCE WILL REQUIRE
THE INCOMING PRESIDENT, WHOEVER THAT IS, TO NEGOTIATE AND BUILD
COALITIONS WITH THE OPPOSITION TO PASS LEGISLATION.

-- CHAVEZ RESPONDED TEPIDLY TO THE RESULTS OF THE NOVEMBER 8
ELECTIONS. IN AN ADDRESS TO HIS ELECTED OFFICIALS NOVEMBER 14, HE
ATTACKED THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM AS "NOT ADEQUATELY EXPRESSING THE
WILL OF THE PEOPLE." HE SAID THAT, IF ELECTED, HE WOULD OVERHAUL
THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM TO PERMIT THE FORMATION OF STRONG MAJORITIES.

VOTER TURNOUT

3. (U) VOTER TURNOUT WAS STRONG. THE 5,818,715 PEOPLE WHO VOTED
REPRESENTED THE BIGGEST TURNOUT FOR A REGIONAL ELECTION SINCE THEY

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INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-08	ACDE-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	DS-00
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	SP-00	TRSE-00	T-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	G-00
	FDIC-01	SAS-00	/017W				

-----851808 232214Z /38

R 232159Z NOV 98
FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2331
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

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AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USCINCSO MIAMI FL
CIA WASHDC
USIA WASHDC 1960
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 06 CARACAS 003500

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/19/98

TAGS: PGOV, VE

SUBJECT: THE NOVEMBER 8 REGIONAL ELECTIONS: FINAL COUNT AND
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FIRST BEGAN IN 1989. THE 45.6 PERCENT ABSTENTION RATE WAS ALSO THE LOWEST ABSTENTION RATE FOR A REGIONAL ELECTION. ONLY TWO NATIONAL ELECTIONS HAVE PRODUCED MORE VOTERS, THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS OF 1983 AND 1988. NEVERTHELESS, THE VOTER TURNOUT WAS NOT MASSIVE. REPORTS OF A VERY LARGE TURNOUT THE DAY OF THE ELECTIONS WERE MISTAKENLY PROMPTED BY LONG LINES CAUSED BY LATE STARTS FOR MANY POLLING CENTERS AND SLOW MOVEMENT THROUGH THE POLLS.

VOTE SPLITTING

4. (U) THERE WAS NO SIGNIFICANT VOTE SPLITTING DURING THE REGIONAL ELECTIONS. THE USE OF TWO BALLOTS--ONE BALLOT FOR THE GUBERNATORIAL AND STATE ASSEMBLY RACES, AND ANOTHER BALLOT FOR NATIONAL SENATE AND CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES RACES--HAD INCREASED THE PROBABILITY, ACCORDING TO SOME ANALYSTS, OF VOTE SPLITTING. FOR THE MOST PART, THIS DID NOT OCCUR AMONG THE MAJOR VOTE GETTERS (AD, MVR, COPEI, AND PV). SOME ATTRIBUTED THIS TO THE CONTINUING STRENGTH OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION; OTHERS ATTRIBUTED IT TO THE COMPLEXITY OF THE BALLOT, ARGUING THAT VOTERS WERE CONFUSED BY THE CHOICES PRESENTED AND THEREFORE VOTED STRAIGHT PARTY TICKETS TO AVOID NULIFYING THEIR BALLOTS. IN MOST STATES, IT APPEARS THAT THE GUBERNATORIAL VOTE SET THE PATTERN FOR ALL RACES.

5. (U) HOWEVER, SIGNIFICANT VOTE SPLITTING DID OCCUR IN FOUR STATES:

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-- ARAGUA: MAS PROVIDED 38 PERCENT OF ITS GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE'S 72 PERCENT ELECTORAL TOTAL. HOWEVER, IT PROVIDED ONLY 27 PERCENT OF THE VOTE FOR ITS CONGRESSIONAL LISTS. IN OTHER WORDS, 11 PERCENT OF THE MASISTAS WHO VOTED FOR GOVERNOR DIDALCO BOLIVAR DID NOT VOTE FOR MAS SENATE AND CHAMBER OF DEPUTY LISTS.

-- BOLIVAR: AD PROVIDED 40 PERCENT OF THE VOTE FOR ITS GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE'S 47 PERCENT TOTAL, BUT ONLY 28 PERCENT FOR ITS CONGRESSIONAL LISTS. TWELVE PERCENT OF AD VOTERS WHO VOTED FOR GOVERNOR JORGE CARVIJAL DID NOT VOTE FOR AD SENATE AND CHAMBER OF DEPUTY LISTS.

-- MIRANDA: COPEI VOTERS PROVIDED 36.2 PERCENT OF ENRIQUE MENDOZA'S 50 PERCENT GUBERNATORIAL VOTE. HOWEVER, COPEI ONLY PRODUCED 18 PERCENT OF THE VOTE FOR ITS CONGRESSIONAL LISTS, WITH MANY COPEI VOTES GOING TO PROYECTO VENEZUELA SENATE AND CHAMBER OF DEPUTY LISTS.

-- TACHIRA: COPEI PROVIDED 39 PERCENT OF THE 47 PERCENT WINNING VOTE TOTAL FOR GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE EL CURA CALDERON. HOWEVER, ONLY 28 PERCENT OF THE COPEI VOTERS CAST THEIR BALLOT FOR THE PARTY'S SENATE AND CHAMBER OF DEPUTY LISTS. APERTURA, THE PARTY OF CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ, TOOK VOTES FROM COPEI AND AD FOR THE NATIONAL CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS.

LOOKING TO THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

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	NSCE-00	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00	P-00
	SP-00	TRSE-00	T-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	G-00
	FDIC-01	SAS-00	/017W				

-----851ED4 232255Z /22

R 232159Z NOV 98
FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2332
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USCINCSO MIAMI FL
CIA WASHDC
USIA WASHDC 1961
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 06 CARACAS 003500

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SECOND, VOTING BEHAVIOR IN THE NATIONAL AND REGIONAL ELECTIONS ARE

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(U) APPENDIX

A. VOTE TURNOUT

STATE	TOTAL VOTE	PERCENTAGE OF ELECTORATE
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INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-08	ACDE-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	DS-00
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	NSCE-00	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00	P-00
	SP-00	TRSE-00	T-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	G-00
	FDIC-01	SAS-00	/017W				

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FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2333
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USCINCSO MIAMI FL
CIA WASHDC
USIA WASHDC 1962
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 06 CARACAS 003500

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REF: CARACAS 3392

ZULIA	632,293	52.1
MIRANDA	602,916	52.6
FEDERAL DISTRICT	564,237	49.7
CARABOBO	424,192	56.1
LARA	355,381	50.5
ARAGUA	341,857	50.3
TACHIRA	275,669	60.3
ANZOATEGUI	260,688	54.6
BOLIVAR	256,006	52.5
FALCON	227,323	58.8
SUCRE	206,168	53.7
MERIDA	204,465	59.2
PORTUGUESA	197,080	60.1
MONAGAS	184,514	58.3
GUARICO	176,967	60.1
TRUJILLO	171,716	55.6
BARINAS	157,105	60.2
YARACUY	135,151	58.0
NUEVA ESPARTA	112,291	59.3
APURE	94,911	60.3
VARGAS	91,515	53.4
COJEDES	81,364	64.5
DELTA AMACURO	38,726	64.6

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AMAZONAS	26,180	66.8
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TOTAL	5,818,715	54.4

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B. ABSTENTION RATE

STATE	TOTAL VOTE	PERCENTAGE OF ELECTORATE
-----	-----	-----
ZULIA	582,386	47.9
MIRANDA	543,532	47.4
FEDERAL DISTRICT	614,411	50.3
CARABOBO	332,407	43.9
LARA	348,189	49.5
ARAGUA	337,702	49.7
TACHIRA	181,230	39.7
ANZOATEGUI	217,038	45.4
BOLIVAR	231,866	47.5
FALCON	159,469	41.2
SUCRE	178,408	46.3
MERIDA	140,754	40.8
PORTUGUESA	131,123	39.9
MONAGAS	132,044	41.7
GUARICO	117,379	39.9
TRUJILLO	137,101	44.4
BARINAS	103,675	39.8
YARACUY	97,781	42.0
NUEVA ESPARTA	77,052	40.7
APURE	62,584	39.7
VARGAS	80,020	46.6
COJEDES	44,938	35.5
DELTA AMACURO	21,194	35.4

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AMAZONAS	12,995	33.17
-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	4,885,278	45.6

C. COMPARISON WITH PREVIOUS REGIONAL ELECTIONS

YEAR	VOTER TURNOUT	ABSTENTION (PERCENTAGE)
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1989	4,198,636	54.9
1992	4,838,080	50.7
1995	4,770,797	53.8
1998	5,818,715	45.6

D. SENATE

PARTY	NO. OF SEATS	PERCENTAGE
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ACTION ARA-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-08	ACDE-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	DS-00
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	NSCE-00	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00	P-00
	SP-00	TRSE-00	T-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	G-00
	FDIC-01	SAS-00	/017W				

-----851827 232215Z /38

R 232159Z NOV 98
FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2334
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USCINCSO MIAMI FL
CIA WASHDC
USIA WASHDC 1963
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 06 CARACAS 003500

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AD	19	34.50
MVR	12	21.8
COPEI	7	12.7
MAS	5	9.1
PV	4	7.3
CONV	2	3.6
PPT	2	3.6
LCR	1	1.8
IRENE	1	1.8
APERTURA	1	1.8
RENOVACION	1	1.8
-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	55	100.0

(NOTE: 48 SENATORS WERE ELECTED BY PARTY LIST VOTE, DISTRIBUTED PROPORTIONALLY DEPENDING ON THE VOTE IN EACH STATE. SEVEN ADDITIONAL SENATORS WERE AWARDED TO NATIONAL PARTIES BASED ON A QUOTIENT SYSTEM DESIGNED TO ENSURE THAT MICRO PARTIES ARE INCLUDED IN THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS, AND TO PROVIDE BALANCE FOR PARTIES WHOSE VOTE TOTALS NATIONALLY ARE NOT REFLECTED IN SENATE SEATS WON BECAUSE THEY DO NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT CONCENTRATION OF VOTES AT THE STATE LEVEL. PARTIES WHICH BENEFITED FROM THIS PROCESS IN THE SENATE ARE: PV (3), PPT (1), LCR (1), IRENE (1), RENOVACION (1). END NOTE.)

E. HOUSE OF DEPUTIES

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PARTY	NO. OF SEATS	PERCENTAGE
-----	-----	-----
AD	62	30.1
MVR	46	22.3
COPEI	27	13.1
PV	20	9.7
MAS	18	8.7
PPT	6	2.9
LCR	6	2.9
CONV	5	2.4
APERTURA	3	1.4
IRENE	2	0.9
RENOVACION	2	0.9
URD	1	0.5

n/a

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ORA	1	0.5
MEP	1	0.5
PCV	1	0.5
MIN	1	0.5
REANCE	1	0.5
UDH	1	0.5
SI	1	0.5
MDP/BR	1	0.5
-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	206	100.0

(NOTE: 188 SEATS WERE CHOSEN BY LIST AND DIRECT ELECTIONS. 18
 ADDITIONAL SEATS WERE AWARDED TO NATIONAL PARTIES BASED ON THE
 QUOTIENT SYSTEM DESCRIBED ABOVE. PARTIES WHICH BENEFITED FROM THIS
 PROCESS IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES ARE: CONV (2), RENOVACION (2),
 IRENE (2), APERTURA (2), LCR (1), URD (1), ORA (1), MEP (1), PCV
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 (1), MIN (1), RENACE (1), UDH (1), SI (1), MDP/BR (1). END NOTE)

F. GOVERNORS

STATE	WINNER	PARTY
-----	-----	-----
AMAZONAS	BERNABE GUTIERREZ	AD
ANZOATEGUI	ALEXIS ROSA	MVR
APURE	JOSE MONTILLA	AD
ARAGUA	DIDALCO BOLIVAR	MAS
BARINAS	HUGO CHAVEZ (FATHER)	MVR
BOLIVAR	JORGE CARVIJAL	AD
CARABOBO	HENRIQUE SALAS FEO	PV
COJEDES	ALBERTO GALINDEZ	AD
DELTA AMACURO	EMERI	COPEI
FALCON	JOSE CUIEL	COPEI
GUARICO	EDUARDO MANUITT	MVR
LARA	ORLANDO FERNANDEZ	MAS
MERIDA	WILLIAM DAVILA	AD
MIRANDA	ENRIQUE MENDOZA	COPEI

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INFO LOG-00 ACDA-08 ACDE-00 DODE-00 DOEE-00 SRPP-00 DS-00
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SP-00 TRSE-00 T-00 PMB-00 DSCC-00 DRL-02 G-00
FDIC-01 SAS-00 /017W

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R 232159Z NOV 98
FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2335
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN
AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
USCINCSO MIAMI FL
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 06 CARACAS 003500

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MONAGAS	LUIS MARTINEZ	AD
NUEVA ESPARTA	RAFAEL FUCHO TOVAR	COPEI
PORTUGUESA	IVAN COLUMNEARES	MAS
SUCRE	ELOY GIL	AD
TACHIRA	EL CURA CALDERON	COPEI
TRUJILLO	LUIS ERNESTO	AD
VARGAS	ALFREDO LAYA	MVR
YARACUY	EDUARDO LAPI	CONV
ZULIA	FRANCISCO ARIAS	MVR/COPEI/IRENE

(NOTE: AD WON 8 GOVERNORSHIPS, MVR 7, COPEI FIVE, AND PV AND COV ONE EACH. THE ZULIA GOVERNOR, BECAUSE HE WAS SUPPORTED BY COPEI AND THE LCR, A SUPPORT NECESSARY FOR HIS VICTORY, WILL NOT BE COUNTED AMONG THE RANKS OF THE MVR OR ANY OTHER PARTY. END NOTE.)

G. TOP TEN VOTE-GETTING PARTIES (SENATE)

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PARTY	VOTES	PERCENTAGE
-----	-----	-----
AD	1,222,877	24.5
MVR	981,797	19.7
COPEI	613,983	12.3
PV	497,881	10.0
MAS	456,847	9.2
PPT	165,773	3.3

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LCR	146,971			2.9
APERTURA	122,126			2.4
CONV	118,039			2.8
IRENE	62,408			1.2

H. TOP TEN VOTE-GETTING PARTIES (DEPUTIES)

PARTY	VOTES	PERCENTAGE
-----	-----	-----
AD	1,171,641	24.2
MVR	961,703	19.8
COPEI	587,525	12.1
PV	497,201	10.3
MAS	431,845	8.9
PPT	165,116	3.4
LCR	141,633	2.9
CONV	120,504	2.5
APERTURA	75,762	1.6
IRENE	61,779	1.3

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